

The War Paper for Women

VOTES FOR WOMEN

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

VOL. VIII. (Third Series), No. 391.

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1915.

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TRADE UNION CONGRESS

U.S. Campaign in Bristol

The forty-seventh Annual Trade Union Congress will be held next week, September 6-11, in the Association Hall, Bristol. In view of the great importance to women of any decisions that may be arrived at during the Congress with regard to their employment in industries hitherto closed to them, and, indeed, with regard to their whole political, industrial, and social position as affected by the European War, United Suffragists have made arrangements to conduct a week's campaign in Bristol, beginning on Monday next, September 6.

A Public Meeting

A Joint Public Meeting will be held in the Kingsley Hall, Bristol, on Tuesday evening, September 7, at which the following will be among the speakers:—Mr. George Lansbury, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst (East London Federation of the Suffragettes), Miss Evelyn Sharp (United Suffragists).

Resolutions will be put to this meeting, demanding among other things that women shall be enfranchised, and that they shall be paid a man's wage for doing a man's work, and calling upon the Trade Union Congress to back up these demands.

Open-Air Campaign

In addition, open-air meetings will be held during the sittings of the Congress, and a great point will be made of selling this issue of VOTES FOR WOMEN, which, with its "Women's Message to the Trade Union Congress" (see p. 400), should be circulated as widely as possible among

Labour circles both before and during the Congress.

Who Will Volunteer to Help?

Miss Mary Phillips is in charge of the campaign, and she and Miss Bertha Brewster will spend the whole week at Bristol. Mrs. Leigh Rothwell has kindly promised to help, if possible, by speaking at the open-air meetings; and more volunteers for speaking, selling papers, and distributing leaflets will be very warmly welcomed.

Offers from Bristol

Mrs. Beatrice A. Curtis has most kindly offered hospitality to Miss Phillips and Miss Brewster for the whole week. Will any other Bristol member of U.S., or reader of our paper make a similar offer? In this way more workers can be sent down from headquarters.

Miss Lily Girdlestone has also very kindly offered the use of her house during the daytime to our workers; and, being unable at the moment to put anybody up, has sent 10s. instead towards defraying expenses. This is a substantial way of helping the campaign that is open to all our members and readers, and we hope they will avail themselves of it and send in donations to enable other workers to go down to Bristol if they are unable to go themselves.

Where to Apply

All names, donations, and offers of hospitality should be addressed to Miss Mary Phillips at U.S. Offices, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., until Saturday in this week; and at 47, Canynge Road, Clifton, Bristol, from Monday to Saturday, September 6-11 (inclusive).

Roll up, U.S. members, and stand by the

women in their fight for equal political, social, and industrial rights with men!

U.S. WOMEN'S CLUB

Secretary: Miss M. R. Cochrane, 92, Borough Road, S.E. Telephone: Hop 4172

Flowers have again been received from Mrs. Richmond and Miss Gore-Browne. Next week we hope to announce plans for the autumn programme at the Club. The first Suffrage meeting will be held on Tuesday, September 7, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Mrs. Ayrton Gould.

BOLTON U.S.

Hon. Sec., Mrs. Jessie Crompton, Brookdale, Ridginate, near Bolton

In continuance of our open-air campaign last Monday week we held another successful meeting on the Town Hall Square. Miss Annie Somers, B.A., was the speaker, her subject being principally women's work and wages. Councillor G. Thompson kindly presided at short notice, and gave telling facts of social and industrial work in other countries where women voted. The questions asked showed a real desire for information.

MANCHESTER U.S.

Hon. Sec., Miss Hope Hampson, Onward Buildings, 207, Deansgate

Miss Annie Somers was the speaker at the last Sydney Street meeting, when she addressed a most attentive crowd. She was also the special guest at the At Home at Onward Buildings on August 27. A good number of members and friends were assembled, and Miss Somers gave a most interesting address. The chair was taken by Mr. McMurdo, and a resolution was passed unanimously, protesting against the lowering of the school age from 14 to 13. Several new members joined. It is hoped as many members as possible will come to the next At Home on September 17, when Mr. Charles Gray will speak.

NEW BOOKS

A VALUABLE PAMPHLET

The International Federation for the Abolition of the State Regulation of Vice (Tothill Street, Westminster) has published an extremely useful and well-written pamphlet (price 1d., or 9d. per dozen), by Alison Neilans, on "The Plymouth District under the C.D. Acts." Our readers, and all members of the U.S., will remember the attempt that was made to revive the C.D. Acts in Cardiff last autumn; and in view of the fact that we are never safe in war time from a recurrence of similar attempts to minimise the effects of vice upon men at the expense of defenceless women, this pamphlet makes a timely appearance.

The writer has chosen Plymouth as an example of the former working of these Acts because it has always been considered the best example of their success; and she shows how the improvement that undoubtedly was shown in the state of the town during their operation, arose principally from other causes. She deals with the evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1879-1882, and shows how the good results claimed for the so-called "protected" districts were more marked in other districts not so "protected," where the local police made use of the powers given them under the ordinary law. Miss Neilans then proceeds to give figures proving the truth of the opinion held by all abolitionists, that "not only were these Acts morally wrong, but they were also unscientific and futile." She concludes with a brief summary of the medical failure of the State Regulation of Vice.

"THE DANGER OF PEACE"

This little book is a reproduction of the substance of a lecture given by Mr. J. W. Allen

* "The Danger of Peace." By J. W. Allen. (London: G. Bell and Sons. Price 1s. net.)

at King's College, London, in May of this year. In it the lecturer tilts at pacifism, while admitting that he is himself a pacifist, "in a humble way." We rather think that it is in the way indicated by Mr. Bertrand Russell, who recently defined a pacifist as one who is against all wars except the one that is going on. But this is not quite fair to Mr. Allen, who, we take it, defines his own position in the following passage:—

The truth is that never yet for a moment has there been peace in the world. In the peace of private life men strive with each other under rules which forbid actual violence. Workers struggle with employers, party with party, man with man, in that form of war which is called competition. In "peace" nations, too, fight each other under rules. They fight not with guns but with treaties and understandings, threats and promises, tariffs and peaceful penetrations. And sooner or later this mitigated war which is "peace" becomes unmitigated war. The strain becomes too great, and the cord snaps. War—the war that existed through all the years of peace—is, as we say, declared. If ever there is peace in the world that peace will not be broken.

We have really quoted this passage for the sake of the last sentence in it, for that sentence seems to us to be the common meeting-ground of the pacifist and the anti-pacifist. Where they will probably differ is in their view of whether that future peace of the world is attainable or not.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Greater than the Greatest." By Hamilton Drummond. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)
"The Freelanders." By John Galsworthy. (London: Heinemann. Price 6s.)
"The Danger of Peace." By J. W. Allen. (London: Bell and Sons. Price 1s. net.)
"The Devil's Spawn." By William le Queux. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 1s. net.)
"The Englishwoman." September. (London: Evans Brothers. Price 1s. net.)

The London School of Economics and Political Science, abridged calendar, 1915-16. (London School of Economics and Political Science, Clare Market, W.C. Price 6d. net.)



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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper

THE OUTLOOK

The Trade Union Congress, to which we address a message in our leading article in this issue, meets at Bristol next Monday, and will discuss a matter of paramount interest to all Suffragists—the position of women, now and hereafter, who are being employed to do men's work. That the exploitation of these women by their employers, of whom the Government is one of the worst offenders, should not continue, and that they should have the protection of the vote, is so essential to the position of women and the future of the State that United Suffragists have resolved to conduct a paper-selling and meetings campaign in Bristol during the Congress week. Full particulars will be found on the opposite page. The Women's Trade Union League will hold their annual Conference in the Grand Hotel, Bristol, on Tuesday at 5.30 p.m., under the presidency of Miss Gertrude Tuckwell.

The Babies' Roll of Honour

An important Act of Parliament came into operation on Wednesday in this week. We mean the Notification of Births (Extension) Act, whereby the birth of a child must be notified (under penalty) within thirty-six hours, thus giving the health authorities a chance of exercising supervision that may result in the saving of thousands of infant lives. In a letter—which we are unable to give in full for want of space—Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky reminds us again that we lose annually 100,000 babies under one year old, another 100,000 under fifteen years old, and 120,000 who deacease pre-natally. For less than £400,000 per annum, she estimates, sufficient health visitors could be maintained to bring about an immense decline in this rate of mortality, so largely due to preventible causes. We wonder how long the Anti-Suffragists will continue to believe that it is possible to mind the baby merely by staying at home?

The Shortage of Doctors

The War Office, with naturally its own ends in view, is making still further demands on the medical profession, and the result is likely to work out tragically for our civilian poor during the coming winter. There is even talk of closing hospitals, and the Poor Law is suffering badly from the shortage. The war is, of course, mainly accountable for this serious situation, but we must not forget that there was also a shortage before the war, and that we should have far more women doctors to draw upon to-day if prejudice had not placed so many obstacles in the way of their entering the profession. Even now we do not hear of many hospitals opening their doors to women students.

Penalising the Mother

Proceedings are now being taken in various cases against mothers and their soldier sons for defrauding the War Office in respect of the amount due for separation allowance as based upon the amount alleged to have been paid by

the son to the mother before enlistment. At Manchester a mother pleaded guilty to having stated that her son's contribution had amounted to 15s., when it really amounted to 11s., his total wage having been 12s. She was sentenced to a month's imprisonment, though she offered to refund the money, and was said to be a thoroughly respectable woman, while her son lay dangerously wounded in a Manchester hospital. At the Guildhall, last week, a mother was ordered to pay £10 or go to prison for a month, for having attempted to obtain an allowance of 12s. a week by stating that her son allowed her 12s. before enlistment, whereas he allowed her only 7s. 6d., the whole of his wages. In this case the son was also charged, but was bound over, apparently because he was a good soldier.

Who Discourages Recruiting?

We should have thought that the mother, who bore an excellent character, and who with her husband seems to have subsisted entirely on the money allowed, together with an allotment from the son's pay, was a good soldier too. In both cases it appears to us that the State is heavily in debt to the mother, who brought her son into the world, has had him taken away from her to fight the battles of the State, and then is sent to prison for trying to get from the State in return a sufficient pittance to keep body and soul together. We do not defend fraud; but when it is committed under stress of great poverty, when the fault is admitted, and the value of the mother's own contribution, her son, taken into account, we think it preposterous that these two women should be suffering imprisonment. Have not the magistrates responsible for the two sentences brought themselves within the provisions of the Defence of the Realm Act for discouraging recruiting?

Chivalry?

"Household management and the upbringing of children are the best service a woman can do for the State," says the *Birmingham Daily Post*, apropos of the unfortunate woman railway worker who was killed recently in the execution of her duties. But does our contemporary realise that child-bearing accounts for more casualties every year even than employment on railways, though the death-rate of the latter is preposterously high? Also that lunacy statistics show how largely the asylums are filled from the home? There is a tendency just now to revive the old myth that women, when not engaged in doing men's work, lead a sheltered and safe existence. If this arises out of a sincere wish to protect women from harm, and not from a sneaking desire to keep women out of men's jobs, we suggest to our chivalrous friends in the Press and elsewhere that they would help women far more effectually, as our cartoonist shows on another page, by securing for them the real protection of the vote.

An American Comment

An interesting comment on our cartoon is afforded by an American Suffragist, Dr. Anna Shaw, in connection with the recent lynching in Georgia of a rich young man who had been acquitted in Court of a grave offence against a girl. The action of the mob was condoned by a local Mayor, who declared that "the chivalry of the South would never permit a miscarriage of justice when the honour of a woman was assailed." At once the well-known Suffragist tore away the sentimentality from this piece of oratory by pointing out the fact that in the State of Georgia (where women are voteless) the age of consent remains at ten years, so that a man may ruin a girl at that age and be held guiltless. "If the men of Georgia are really bent on protecting woman's honour," she added, "why do they not follow the example of those States in which the age of consent has been raised to eighteen years?" We have no doubt that in the unreported portion of Dr. Shaw's reply to the Mayor she said something about the protection afforded by the vote.

Items of Interest

At the second day's session of the British Association, which meets at Manchester on September 7, the subject discussed in the Economics Section will be the replacement of men by women in industries, and its effects. Miss Margaret Ashton will be among the speakers.

As the result of negotiations between the National Union of Railwaymen, the General Managers' Committee, and the Board of Trade, it has been determined that the pay of women employed on railways in capacities which they did not fill before the war shall be the minimum men's pay of those grades.

The Fairchild Scholarship for tuition for the minor examination in pharmacy has been won in open competition by Miss Doris Gregory, the first girl student to achieve this success.

The War Office has called for 200 voluntary aid women orderlies to work in the military hospitals at Malta. Half the number are being supplied by the British Red Cross and the other half by the St. John Ambulance Association.

It is stated in the *Cri de Flandres* that a young French girl, Renée Robin, has been mentioned in the Order of the Day of the British Army for having secured an important plan which helped in the effectual bombardment of the German positions.

A good summary of our account of the activities of the Bolton U.S. appears in the *Bolton Evening Chronicle* (August 25).

An agitation is on foot to suspend the payment of M.P.s' salaries during the present crisis. War or no war, these salaries are unjustly voted so long as unrepresented women have to contribute towards them.

Whose place is the home? The L.C.C. have instituted classes in order to teach women how to perform the household jobs usually done by men who are now at the war.

The *Daily Express*, which seems to think that the women of England, having said "Go," are now sitting with their hands before them, says: "Something should be done AT ONCE (*sic*) to give the women something to do."

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THE WAR OF ALL THE AGES

BY
EVELYN SHARP **3/6**

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 3, 1915.

WOMEN'S MESSAGE TO TRADE UNION CONGRESS

The Trade Union Congress meets at Bristol next week, and future Governments, whether Coalition or Party, will modify their Labour policy in accordance with the decisions arrived at. For Suffragists this Congress will have a peculiar interest, inasmuch as the war has brought into strong relief the continuous entry of women into industry. We use the phrase "continuous entry," because at least six-and-a-half millions of women were employed in gainful occupations when the war broke out. The problem of women's employment is, therefore, no new one, but has only sprung into publicity owing to the scarcity of labour produced by the great response of the manhood of the country to the demands of the war. There is no new problem to be solved—it is merely brought into greater prominence.

There are three ways in which the question can be met: (1) Men can offer a determined opposition to the entry of women into industry at all; (2) They can ignore the whole business; or (3) They can receive the women as equals. Upon the choice made between these three methods by the Trade Union Congress will depend very much the future course taken by the Labour movement in this country.

To oppose the entry of women into industry is a policy at once foolish and useless. We say nothing of the fact that men in the past, without compunction, owing to the development of machine industry, seized upon and appropriated to themselves all the domestic trades, except that of mere drudgery, which were formerly carried on by women. The figures we have quoted prove that women have entered modern industry in large numbers (equal to the whole population of the Dominion of Canada), and there they will stay. Like men, they have to take upon themselves the responsibility of maintaining dependants. Seventy-five per cent. of laundresses, 66 per cent. of cotton weavers, 60 per cent. of needlewomen, 53 per cent. of domestic servants, 52 per cent. of nurses, and 43 per cent. of professional women have been recorded as having persons other than themselves to keep. They must work to live, and that others may live. A Trade Union that attempts to ring-fence its industry against the entry of women will find itself in as hopeless a position as the "Luddites" found themselves in their struggle against machinery.

To ignore the matter is also foolish, but we need not discuss this point, as no responsible Trade Unionist would be guilty of such an ostrich-like policy.

There remains, therefore, the third way of approaching the problem—that men in industry should receive women as equals. This is the only wise policy, the adoption of which we urge upon the members of the assembled Trade Union Congress. It is the only policy which is in accordance with the line of right human

development. It is the policy of harmony as against discord.

United Suffragists, for whom we speak, do not as an organisation hold any opinions as to the merits of different party solutions of the social problem; but, in common with all Suffrage Societies, insist upon the principle that when women perform the work of men the payment shall also be equal. We consider that it is unjust to both men and women that the average wages of the manual workman are 25s. 9d. per week, and of manual workwomen are 10s. 10½d. a week—unjust to the woman because she is underpaid; unjust to the man because he is threatened by competition from equally efficient but lower paid labour. Mere denunciation of employers for taking advantage of such circumstances, or sneers at "pocket-money labour," do not get us any further. The Trade Unions have got to insist on the "equal work, equal pay," principle, and not merely declare it as a principle but use all their political and economic power to secure its adoption.

But, it may be argued, some industries are unfitted for women, and in many cases women do not perform exactly the same work as men, and are therefore not entitled to equal pay. Taking the last point first, we would point out to Trade Unionists that many of their struggles for minimum wages, or against piece work and premium bonus systems, and so on, are an express denial of the principle that wages should be dependent upon the quantity or quality of the work done, and rather the assertion of the principle of a standard of life irrespective of the task performed. Without in any way expressing an opinion on the merits of these struggles, we would point out that men cannot assert for themselves the right of equal pay for unequal labour, and then turn round and permit women to be underpaid on account of a presumed inefficiency. The same principles must apply all round, and if it be in accordance with industrial development that labour should be graded and paid upon some method of relative efficiency, then it must be based on the quality and quantity of work performed, and not on the basis of sex. True collective bargaining can only be possible when the male Trade Unionist removes all barriers to the admission of women to his Union.

As to whether some trades are dangerous or unsuitable for women, we offer no opinion at this stage. Much sentimental nonsense is expressed upon this matter. We would not deny the right of the community to forbid the carrying on of certain industries under certain conditions; but it must be a complete community. One sex alone should not determine whether the other sex should be employed or not. Both sexes should settle such questions; and Factory Acts should be passed as the result of the expression of opinion of women as well as men. The vote is the keystone of the arch, and the Congress would show its conception of the realities of the position if it insisted on—

(a) The granting of the vote to women before the dissolution of the present Parliament;

(b) The opening of all Trade Unions to women, and the settlement within the Unions of all the problems, by men and women as equal members, of permanent labour, emergency labour, demarcation of work, hours, rates of pay, and the hundred-and-one other matters which only those in an industry understand, and upon which it would be impertinence for outsiders to offer opinions.

We look to the Trade Union Congress to rise to a realisation of the position, and to take action on these lines; for thus only can the rights of women and men be justly assumed, and internal peace be secured to the nation.

HOW WAR WORK IS PAID

By Mrs. Leigh Rothwell

In all the history of the Suffrage and Labour movement there has never been a period so full of hopes and fears as the present. There are many reasons why the women in the Suffrage movement, who have fought so long and valiantly, are hopeful that the "June" they have waited for cannot be much longer deferred. One is the undoubted change in the attitude of a great part of the public towards the Woman's Question, as evidenced at the many meetings held by the Societies who have kept the flag flying during the past year. There is every reason to believe that a fair-minded public realise at last that woman must not only be recognised as a very useful and indispensable emergency worker, but also as a very desirable citizen. Another reason, and a well-grounded one, for the hope that justice to women will not be much longer delayed has its root in the problem which confronts us, and which has never been so acute as it is to-day—the position of women in the labour market, the question of the man's job and the woman's pay, the question of organising the women into the Trades Unions. These problems must have a tremendous bearing on the Suffrage question; for every day the truism that economic power and political power must go hand in hand is being more completely proved in the monstrous inequalities in rates of pay for the same work done by men and women.

Trade Union Plus Votes

Men can no longer shut their eyes to the fact that, as in the past neither the Vote alone, nor Trade Unions alone, could avail to better their conditions—but the united power of both—so women who are doing their work and threaten permanently to undercut them, need both the Vote and a Trade Union to raise their own standard of wages and prevent the lowering of men's standard. Fear at times accomplishes what nothing else can, and it seems probable that as men are beginning to see their short-sighted folly in keeping women out of their Union, so they may also see the necessity of giving women in Trade Unions the protection of the Vote. "As a man sows so shall he reap"; so it is too late now for man to blame women and girls if he finds himself supplanted at the lathe, at boring machines, in aircraft work, in railways, in hotels, in chauffeuring, and in countless other jobs by women when the war is over. Women and girls learn quickly. Several foremen have told me they prefer having women in their workshops, and if they prove themselves competent workers and will work for a lower wage than men, the result is obvious. We all know profits and dividends are the governing factors in business, and if women's labour can be exploited and bigger profits made out of it, then, of course, the employer will give it the preference.

A Chance for Employers

Men are beginning to realise the very grave danger to themselves in the pressing and unparalleled opportunity employers have at this moment for testing women's capabilities. The Engineers (with a membership of 190,000) are ready to back up women engaged in work on shells and fuses and other engineering work in a demand for a minimum wage of £1 a week. It certainly is not asking for equal pay for equal work; and there is always the danger of a minimum becoming the maximum in the eyes of the

employer; but it at least shows men are waking up to the menace of the cheap labour of women. The Bakers' and Railwaymen's Unions, in opening their doors to women, are also showing that they realise what they are up against, and it seems that what a sense of fairness and justice has not done, fear and the instinct of self-preservation may accomplish.

Men and Women Side by Side

Working almost side by side with women in aeroplane shops, doing the same work, using the same machines, and recognising how quickly women adapt themselves, knowing that 3d. and 3½d. per hour of the women is set against their 10d., men begin to think; and many of them are genuinely indignant at the unfairness. It is the same thing in munition factories; 3½d. for the women, 9d. for the men. In tent making, women cutters are getting just half what men working in the same room get.

Girls employed as packers on work men used to do, get half the money; girls in jam factories do the boys' work of pushing trucks, with no increase from the minimum of 13s. 9d., for which the boys got 18s. In several high-class stores girls are employed in various departments—provisions, stationery, fish, &c.—in place of men. Needless to say, they are not getting the man's pay, and in several cases have asked for a rise and been refused.

One could multiply "cases" of this kind, but there is no need of more to impress upon the public, upon men and women workers in particular, the very urgent necessity for concerted action to prevent a permanent rivalry between men and women in the labour market. Organising the women into Trade Unions with the power of the Vote behind them can alone solve the problem, and were any excuse needed for the demand for an immediate Bill for the Enfranchisement of Women the labour problem affords it.

The Time of Their Lives!

There is a large amount of clap-trap talked about the workers having now the time of their lives (a good many worn-out with incessant toil and excessive long hours are likely not to have much more time in this world of weariness), and while a comparative few are, at the cost of health and enormous waste of nerve power and energy and leisure, making a few extra shillings, the conditions of the greater part of the workers remain as they have ever been—a shame and disgrace to the so-called civilisation we make so much brag about. A fine time are girl munition workers having, who work 68½ hours a week (every other week on night work from 8 p.m. to 7.30 a.m.) and take home 18s. to 22s.; also young girls of sixteen who sort bullets and who work, when on special contract, from 8 a.m. till 10 p.m. and receive 9s. And our jam-makers, helping to feed the Army, with nearly twelve hours' of standing (the women and girls say they can hardly walk home at night, their feet are so tired), and getting—the oldest hands—the munificent sum of 13s. 9d. a week. What riotous times they are having with the sovereign worth about 13s.!

And the rope-makers and sack-makers, and the electrical cable workers, the rag sorters, and fur pullers, and all the other toilers in the various hives of industry, the humble but necessary wage-slaves, existing—nothing more—on sweated wages of from 9s. to 12s. a week—they

are reaping no glorious wage harvest; with less food and poorer food they reap only what the profiteer has sown.

And these—the hardest to organise—need so pathetically the two weapons of the Trade Union and the Vote; in the prominence given to the munition workers they must not be forgotten.

If men Trade Unionists are aroused by the present labour conditions to encourage, to help, to insist on women getting organised, then they will not let slip this golden opportunity of making, in some degree, restitution for their careless, unjust, indifferent attitude towards women in the long past.

CORRESPONDENCE

WOMEN IN MUNITION WORKS

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Can you tell me the rate of pay given to volunteer (female) munition workers? I know of two well-to-do ladies who have been engaged for week-ends for the next six months. They proceed to their duties—it is, naturally, some distance from their home—in a taxi-cab, driven by a man presumably of military age, at a cost of two guineas a week, and they are being highly applauded for their patriotism and self-sacrifice. I have no doubt they are patriotic; but—Yours, &c.,

A MEMBER OF THE U.S.

[Mrs. Leigh Rothwell's article above gives some of the wages earned by women munition workers, which would certainly not permit of taxi-cab fares! We do not know if voluntary workers are paid more.—Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

A WORKER'S WARNING TO WOMEN

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—If women are not careful, in spite of what they are doing for the country, after the war they will be treated worse than they were before. Look at Mr. J. Billington's report to the Operative Cotton Spinners on employing women in spinning rooms: "Employers are prepared to give any guarantee that at the end of this war no more females would be taken in the spinning rooms, and this undertaking would be most probably endorsed by the Government," which means practically legislation to exclude women's employment here. To bring about such a precedent as Mr. Billington suggests would do infinite wrong to women. You have done well indeed to preserve VOTES FOR WOMEN—the women's war paper! Constant vigilance should be our motto.—Yours, &c.,

A STRUGGLING WORKER.

Liverpool, August 30, 1915.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FUND

Donations Received up to August 28, 1915

| | £ | s. | d. | | £ | s. | d. |
|--|-------|----|----|-----------------------------|--------|----|----|
| Already acknowledged | 1,402 | 11 | 4 | Miss E. Prelooker | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Mrs. Cavendish | 2 | 0 | 0 | Miss M. Prelooker | 0 | 10 | 6 |
| Bentinck | 2 | 0 | 0 | Miss K. A. Raleigh | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| Miss Gertrude | 1 | 0 | 0 | Mrs. J. F. Shiell | | | |
| Eaton | 1 | 0 | 0 | (Poster, Chorley Wood)..... | 1 | 5 | 0 |
| Miss Kate W. | 1 | 0 | 0 | Miss C. G. | | | |
| Evans | 1 | 0 | 0 | Wilkinson | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Extra on VOTES FOR WOMEN (per Miss Brewster) | 0 | 0 | 11 | | | | |
| | | | | | £1,409 | 6 | 3 |

WOMEN'S CLUB FUND

Donations Received up to August 28, 1915

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---------------------------------------|------|----|----|
| Already acknowledged | 282 | 12 | 11 |
| Club Receipts (per Miss Cochrane) ... | 0 | 9 | 2 |
| Miss C. G. Wilkinson | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | £283 | 7 | 1 |

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

This Autumn's Contests

"Which of the four campaign States will win the woman's vote in the autumn elections of 1915?" Mrs. Chapman Catt, the prominent American Suffragist, was asked recently. "All of them," was her confident reply.

British Suffragists will warmly echo her wish and her hope. The four States where this momentous issue will be decided this autumn are New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. Mrs. Frank Roessing, President of the Pennsylvania Suffrage Association, said the women in her State were bound to win because of their enthusiasm and willingness to work for it. "It is the European War that has awakened them," she said recently, in an interview. "They see what may befall a country with a low ideal of democracy."

Wages in Suffrage and Non-Suffrage States

It is interesting to find that the wages for women in States where they are enfranchised are almost always higher than in the States where they are voteless. In the State of Washington, for instance (where women vote), a girl, it is said, would have to be under eleven to earn as low a wage as the State of Massachusetts (a male Suffrage State) has set for girls between seventeen and eighteen.

A prominent Wyoming journalist, Mr. W. C. Deming, enumerating, recently, the good results accruing from the enfranchisement of women in that State, goes on to say:—

"But in Wyoming we do not consider Woman Suffrage from the standpoint of whether it has resulted in perfection and purity in politics, but largely from the standpoint that it is a right to which a mother, sister, or daughter, or female property owner is as much entitled as a man standing in similar relationship to society."

Woman's Vote and Child Labour

The War has rendered the question of child labour one of the acute problems in England at the present time. Its close connection with the status of woman can be gathered from the following passage in a letter from an anti-Suffragist that appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (August 5):—

"Take child labour. Who kicks up all the row about that? Not men, certainly. No. Suffragettes. Children are perfectly comfortable working in canneries. Those who work in the canneries come from a class of people who are accustomed to labour hard, who have nothing, and if their children didn't work in the canneries they would probably starve to death. Then take all this rot about working girls. They get far more now than they are worth in the way of wages. They were perfectly satisfied to work ten hours a day for 10 cents an hour until the suffragettes came along and stirred them up."

This testimony from the enemy is very valuable.

"Advice to Rebels"

Some one stated recently in public that "American women will win the vote because their campaign has been polite, dignified, and tactful." The humour of this remark, in view of the way both American and English men won their constitutional rights, seems to have struck that witty Suffrage writer, Alice Duer Miller; and the following lines appeared soon after, over her signature, in the *New York Tribune*:—

When the Barons faced King John
They were civil as could be,
Doffed the crowns they all had on;
They were well, they said, and he?
Thus their liberty was won,
Pretty manners set them free.

When the Commons killed the King,
Their behaviour was the same.
"Yes," they said, to draw the sting,
"Really, sire, it is a shame."
For they knew the slightest thing,
Rough or rude, would lose the game.

Washington was most polite
To the British long ago,
Said he fancied he was right,
But of course one couldn't know.
Had he tried to sulk or fight,
They'd have thought him simply low.

These examples, ladies all,
Should control your every act.
Never argue, or recall
Any crude, unwelcome fact.
Revolutions rise and fall
By the rebels' social tact.

Woman's Place "Tu Hum"

A Suffrage canvasser in Long Island came across a farmer who was doubtful about signing a Suffrage declaration because, as he put it, he thought woman's place was "tu hum." But a neighbour, who underrated his daughters, made him see the other side.

"How many children have you?" she asked.
"Six," was the answer. "All girls."
"What?" exclaimed the neighbour. "Six daughters? They'd make mighty poor soldiers."

"Yes," agreed the farmer; "but blame good Red Cross nurses." And he gave the Suffrage canvasser his signature!

THE OLD, OLD STORY

In Great Britain we have heard very little lately, for obvious reasons, of woman's place being the home. In certain parts of America, where women are not yet enfranchised, and where there is no war to prove what everybody but the "Anti's" has known for years—that woman's place is no more limited than man's place—it appears that the dear old fictions revolving round the pedestal, the cradle, and the home are still rampant. Having read our monthly *Catholic Suffragist*, we happily know that the Suffrage views of Cardinal Gibbons, who has recently been expressing these in a letter to a democratic leader in New Jersey, are not representative of those held by Roman Catholics. But there is a kind of historic interest about Cardinal Gibbons' view of woman which is perhaps worth preserving. So we quote a few passages at random:—

"I still hold the same views on woman suffrage, already so often expressed, that the ballot would drag woman from her domestic duties into the arena of politics and rob her of much of her charm, goodness, and true influence."

"The insistence on a right of participation in active political life is undoubtedly calculated to rob woman of all that is amiable and gentle, tender and attractive; to rob her of her innate grace of character, and give her nothing in return but masculine boldness and effrontery."

"When I deprecate female suffrage I am pleading for the dignity of woman. I am contending for the honour, I am striving to perpetuate those peerless prerogatives inherent in her sex; those charms and graces which exalt womankind and make her the ornament and the coveted companion of man."

"Women is queen indeed, but her empire is the domestic kingdom. The greatest political triumphs she would achieve in public life fade into insignificance compared with the serene glory which radiates from the domestic shrine and which she illumines and warms by her conjugal and motherly virtues."

We leave our readers to make their own comments on these gems of antiquity.

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PLAYS AND VERSE

SUFFRAGE PLAYS

"Back of the Ballot"

Mr. George Middleton, already known as an American playwright, is also a good Suffragist, and has written this one-act farce with the intention of ridiculing some anti-Suffrage contentions. It goes with a swing and is very amusing in parts, as the list of persons in the cast will show. They are—

JENNIE: Who wishes to be considered part of "the people."

MR. MARTIN: Her father, who is a "dominant male," but well intentioned and sentimental.

BRUCE: His butler, who has too many domestic responsibilities to be burdened with voting.

A POLICEMAN: Who was born in bonnie Ireland, but now enforces the law of this country.

A BURGLAR: Who is open to argument though frail.

The conversion of the burglar by Jennie is humorously conceived, and if some of the jokes are a little American in British ears, these could easily be Anglicised to suit an audience over here.

"The Prodigal Daughter"

In "The Prodigal Daughter" Mr. F. Sheehy Skeffington has written an amusing little comedy in one scene, in an Irish setting. It describes the return of a militant Suffragist to her respectable middle-class home after serving a month's sentence in prison for window-breaking. Her cheery and unashamed attitude towards parents and others, who are prepared

* "Back of the Ballot." By George Middleton. (New York and London: Samuel French. Price 25 cents.)
† "The Prodigal Daughter." By F. Sheehy Skeffington (Offices of the *Irish Citizen*, 12, D'Olier Street, Dublin.)

to forgive her but not to admit that there is nothing to forgive, creates an amusing situation which the author has cleverly handled.

A BOOK OF VERSE †

Miss Rock, whose name is familiar to Suffragists as that of a courageous fighter in the cause, has a delicate and thoughtful way of writing, and in these poems has found happy phrases for many delicate and thoughtful moods. We are not altogether convinced of the wisdom of her experiments in irregular verse: there seems to be the intention of commemorating a moment by jotting down the irregularities of its manifestation—by suggesting rather than by presenting its beauty. In saying this we do not imply that Miss Rock is not herself in possession of the meaning and emotion which her verse implies: of her absolute sincerity there is no question—it is, indeed, her poetry's outstanding quality. The fault, where there is a fault, is in the method employed, and is apparent in the irregular as against the regular metres. The poems dealing with children are the least satisfying on the whole, with the exception of one, which we choose for quotation:

He is the lonely greatness of the world—
(His eyes are dim),
His power it is holds up the cross
That holds up Him.

He takes the sorrow of the threefold hour—
(His eyelids close),
Round him and round, the wind—His Spirit—
where
It listeth, blows.

And so the wounded greatness of the world
In silence lies—
And death is shattered by the light from out
Those darkened eyes.

We wish we had space to quote also the charming lines, "The Gipsies' God."

† Or, *In the Grass*. By Madeline Caron Rock. (London John G. Wilson, 77, Queen Street, E.C. Price 1s. 6d. net.)

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

LIGHT SENTENCES

Assault on Little Girl

The *Morning Advertiser* (August 5) reports case of an insurance agent charged before Mr. Horace Smith at Lambeth Police Court with assaulting a little girl of 12 by placing his hand on her shoulder. The evidence showed that he enticed her into some buildings with a further purpose, which she evaded by escaping. There was a previous conviction for indecently assaulting two little girls.

Sentence: Six months' hard labour.

Cruelty to a Horse

The *Morning Advertiser* (August 23) reports case of a carman and owner charged before Mr. Fordham at West London Police Court with working a gelding that was emaciated and covered with sores. The magistrate said it was a shocking case, and: "How people can be so devilishly cruel I don't know." He ordered the animal to be killed.

Sentence: Fines of 5s. and £5 and costs respectively.

Assault on a Wife

The *Morning Advertiser* (July 19) reports case of a stevedore charged at West Ham Police Court with assaulting his wife by scalding her with hot water, cutting her head open with a bath, and then drenching her with cold water and holding her out in the rain till help came.

Sentence: Fined 20s. or thirteen days.

THIS WEEK'S COMPARISONS

We are quite aware that, in comparing the two cases that stand at the head of our table of punishments this week, we lay ourselves open to the charge that a sentence given in a police court is naturally lighter than a sentence given at the London Sessions. But we would point out that it should not be made possible for a man guilty of the offence of assaulting a little girl with evil intent to be dealt with summarily and to receive the lighter sentence (though six months is a comparatively heavy punishment for this class of offence), while it is equally possible for a man convicted of stealing 3s. 10d. to be taken before a higher tribunal and given a savage sentence of three years' penal servitude. It would not be possible, of course, except under a code of justice that regards 3s. 10d. as of more value than the person of a little girl of twelve.

Live Horse versus Dead Pig

Similarly, in our second comparison, the torture and long-drawn-out, dumb suffering of a helpless animal, while strongly commented upon by the magistrate, apparently merits only a couple of fines, while the theft of a piece of bacon is punished with a year's hard labour. It is true that there were previous convictions against the perpetrator of the theft, but, as can be seen by reverting to our first comparison, previous convictions can be made to count or not, according to the fancy of the Bench; and in any case, the defendant has presumably suffered already the penalty of his former crimes. If a sentence of three years' penal servitude is to be given to any human being—in a humane and just State it would be impossible—let it be given to the pest who injures little girls, and not to the man who steals 3s. 10d.

Wives Still Cheap!

Our third comparison shows that even where we balance the judgments of the police courts only, the same bias in favour of property is observed. We

HEAVY SENTENCES

Stealing 3s. 10d.

The *Morning Advertiser* (August 27) reports case of a tailor charged at the London Sessions before Mr. Allan James Lawrie with stealing a purse containing 3s. 10d. There were eighteen previous convictions, chiefly for pocket picking. The judge remarked he would now try the effect of penal servitude.

Sentence: Three years' penal servitude.

Stealing Bacon

The *Morning Advertiser* (August 11) reports case of a hawker charged before Mr. Lawrie at the London Sessions with stealing a piece of bacon outside a shop. A valet similarly indicted with him was acquitted. There were previous convictions against the hawker.

Sentence: Twelve months' hard labour.

Robbery of a Woman

The *Morning Advertiser* (July 9) reports case of a man of no occupation charged before Mr. d'Eyncourt at Clerkenwell Police Court with obtaining sums of money by fraud, amounting to £497, from a school teacher. He was given a previously "irreproachable" character by the police, and it was said he had the expense of an operation on one of his children. The magistrate said it was "a deliberate, mean, and cruel robbery of a poor lady."

Sentence: Twelve months' imprisonment.

do not defend the defrauding of anybody by anybody, but as long as brutal ruffians are allowed to assume from the indifference of magistrates that they can attack and knock about their wives for a paltry fine or a couple of weeks' imprisonment, it seems to us arrant humbug on the part of any magistrate to enlarge upon the "mean and cruel robbery of a poor lady" and to punish it with a year's imprisonment, without, of course, the option of a fine. It is poor consolation for the man now serving that year's imprisonment to know that if he had out open the "poor lady's" head instead of robbing her of her money, his "irreproachable" character would have served him in good stead, and he would have got off for a sovereign! It is just possible, however, that as she was not his wife the fine might have been a trifle heavier.

WOMEN'S CANTEENS AT THE FRONT

(From a Correspondent)

At the Gare du Nord

This canteen is open night and day, with sixty-eight beds for those who have hours to wait for a train, and a rest room, where the men can write their letters and read the papers. There are tubs, too, for the British soldier is not happy unless he can wash and shave. As all places of refreshment in Paris are closed early, the canteen is a much-appreciated institution. Men of all branches of the Expeditionary Force are delighted to find an English welcome awaiting them, and the military authorities are very glad to have the men so well looked after at the railway station itself. Tea and other non-alcoholic drinks are supplied, and good substantial meals, of which the men often stand in real need.

The work does not end here, as the Belgian soldiers also find a welcome at the canteen, where a bowl of their favourite soup is always ready for them. Every night three workers, in conjunction with the French Red Cross, are on the platform to meet the ambu-

lance train, to give the wounded hot coffee, milk, and cigarettes, for which the men are most grateful.

At a Provincial Town

At a well-known town within the sound of guns, the French military authorities, recognising the good work done by the Women's Emergency Corps, who run these canteens, have allowed our workers to visit the soldiers in hospital where no other women have been allowed to help. Last month the Women's Emergency Corps applied for and received permission to open a recreation and writing room in the barracks. The old fencing school and a smaller room adjoining, much defaced by the German occupation in September, were allotted to them. After several days' hard work these rooms were cleaned, disinfected, and hung with flags and prints. Games, chiefly cards, draughts, and dominoes, so dear to the French soldiers, were supplied, as well as all writing materials; an average of 500 letters a day are written, and never before can their families have received so much news!

The rooms are open daily to the soldiers, and their appreciation and gratitude are boundless. Hitherto they have had nowhere to read or write except in their dormitories, and no place of recreation other than the barracks yard. Units of every regiment—infantry, artillery, Spahis, Algerians, Moroccans, even Soudanese—crowd in daily to read. As well as papers and magazines, there is now a lending library attached, and a piano has been supplied by the authorities. Here, tobacco is given to the men. The pay of the French soldier, being only a half-penny a day and 1s. a week for tobacco, leaves little enough wherewith to purchase comforts, and—most pathetic of all—many men have heard nothing of their wives and families, who have been behind the German lines since September, and have therefore received no gifts from home, and suffer the cruellest anxiety as to the fate of their immediate relations.

After local fighting the wounded pour through the town in large numbers, C— being in the first line of hospitals. As many as possible are sent to the rear, and all ambulance trains and hospitals are visited by the workers of the Women's Emergency Corps, who distribute cigarettes, postcards, and pencils to the wounded. Those who would like to contribute towards the necessary expenses of this canteen work may like to know that the address of the headquarters of the W.E.C. is now 15, York Place, Baker Street, W.

IRISHWOMEN'S REFORM LEAGUE

The annual report of the Irishwomen's Reform League (29, South Anne Street, Dublin—Hon. Secretary, Miss Chenevix) for the year 1914 is an excellent record of work done. As it states in the opening sentence, "the year 1914 falls naturally into two parts—before and after the war." The former period interests us most, with its account of vigorous propaganda, both with regard to Woman Suffrage and to various social questions. Two of its activities will especially interest our readers: the protests made against the Cat and Mouse Act, and the admirable work done by Miss Duggan and others in attending law courts when cases of outrages on women and girls were being tried. Our weekly record of the light punishments given in the Courts for this class of offence alone serves to show how necessary and important this branch of the League's work is.

Of the change of programme after the war broke out, the Report gives a very clear account, showing how much the I.R.L. has done by the formation of the Suffragists' Emergency Council, and of a Committee to organise a girls' café, also by interesting meetings held to discuss such subjects as "Bernhardi's Idea of War" and "Mrs. Pethick Lawrence's Movement for Constructive Peace."

The Report ends with the words:—"The year 1914 has closed under a

heavy cloud, but it leaves us, in common with all true suffragists, strong in our determination to continue our work, realising that the granting of justice to women is an essential part of that victory of right over might which alone can free the world from the havoc of war."

"WOMEN AND WORK"

The meeting in the Kingsway Hall announced by the Women's Service Organisation (144, High Holborn, W.C.) for Tuesday, September 14, at 8 p.m., promises to be of great interest. Mrs. Despard will be in the Chair, and the speakers will include Mr. Ben Tillett, the Earl of Derby, Mrs. Parker (Lord Kitchener's sister), and Miss Lena Ashwell. The honorary organizer, Miss Parker, will supply particulars and tickets (5s., 2s., 1s., and 6d.) on application to her at the address given above.

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SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

WOMEN AND WORK.—A Meeting will be held in the Kingsway Hall on Tuesday, September 14, at 8 p.m. Speakers: The Right Hon. the Earl of Derby, Mrs. Parker (Earl Kitchener's sister), Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. Ben Tillett, and others. Chairman: Mrs. Despard. Reserved seats: 5s., 2s., 1s., and 6d.—Apply for tickets to Miss Parker, Women's Service Organisation, 144, High Holborn, W.C.

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